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EXDIS MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, MARR, TU, US

SUBJECT: ELEKDAG PRESENTS PAPER ON US-TURKISH RELATIONS

1. TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG URGENTLY ASKED FOR APPOINTMENT WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AUGUST 14 IN ORDER TO PRESENT NEW INSTRUCTIONS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM ANKARA. MEETING WAS ARRANGED FOR AFTERNOON AUGUST 15. ELEKDAG WAS ACCOMPANIED BY TURKISH AMBASSADOR ESENBEL AND MFA OFFICIAL YALIM ERALP" ON US SIDE
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WERE COUNSELOR NIMETZ, EUR/SE ACTING DIRECTOR DILLERY AND TURKISH DESK OFFICER FLANIGAN.

2. ELEKDAG BEGAN THE MEETING BY PRESENTING TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY A TWO PAGE MEMORANDUM WHICH HE SAID HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO DELIVER PERSONALLY. HE SAID THAT THE DOCUMENT BEARS WITNESS TO THE FACT THAT TURKEY'S SITUATION HAS BECOME INTOLERABLE. TURKISH DEMOCRACY CAN NOT BE SAVED, HE SAID, UNLESS NEW CREDITS ARRIVE QUICKLY. HE ASKED THAT THIS DOCUMENT BE READ AND EVALUATED IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS

SERIOUS SITUATION.

3. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF THE PAPER PRESENTED BY ELEKDAG.

BEGIN TEXT:

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO FULFILL ITS PLEDGE. THIS HAS BEEN RECENTLY REAFFIRMED IN VERY CLEAR TERMS BY PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT IN SEVERAL PRESS STATEMENTS, PARTICULARLY IN A MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOREIGN PRESS IN ISTANBUL ON AUGUST 10 AND IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE PROMINENT ISTANBUL DAILY "MILLIYET" WHICH HAS BEEN PUBLISHED ON AUGUST 14 (EXCERPT ATTACHED):

THESE AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS SHOULD FULLY MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONGRESS CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

THESE STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE WITHOUT LINKING THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S PLEDGE WITH THE U.S. ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE COMMITMENTS TO TURKEY.

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SUKRU ELEKDAG'S TALKS IN WASHINGTON COULD BE RELEVANT AND ACCEPTABLE ONLY IF IT WERE ALSO TO REFLECT THE U.S. COMMITMENTS IN AS UNEQUIVOCAL AND CONCRETE TERMS AS PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT'S STATEMENTS. OTHERWISE IT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS INDICATING THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS SATISFIED WITH THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO AND DOES NOT EXPECT OTHER STEPS FROM THE U.S. FOR THE RE-VITALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND COOPERATION - STEPS THAT WERE DISCUSSED DURING TALKS WITH BOTH SECRETARY OF STATE MR. VANCE AND WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE MR. CHRISTOPHER IN ANKARA.

IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT STATED IN THESE DISCUSSIONS AND ON OTHER OCCASIONS THAT IT DID NOT INTEND TO DISTINGUISH MILITARY MATTERS FROM ECONOMY AND THAT IT EXPECTED MILITARY COOPERATION TO BE SUPPLEMENTED BY ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE.

IT SHOULD ALSO BE REMEMBERED THAT ONE OF THE MAIN OBJECTIONS OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO THE DCA OF 1976 WAS THAT THE U.S. ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY AS FORESEEN IN THAT AGREEMENT HAD BECOME INSUFFICIENT WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME (TWO AND A HALF YEARS) SINCE ITS SIGNING, WITH THE LOSS OF VALUE OF THE U.S. DOLLAR AND WITH THE SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN THE PRICES OF THE MILITARY MATERIAL TO BE SOLD TO TURKEY. YET THE ASSISTANCE NOW FORESEEN IN THE DRAFT CONGRESS DECISION IS EVEN LOWER.

ANOTHER OBJECTION WAS THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ASSISTANCE FORESEEN FOR TURKEY AND GREECE WAS IMPROPORTIONATE WITH THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, SIZES AS WELL AS WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO COLLEC-

TIVE DEFENSE. YET THE ASSISTANCES NOW FORESEEN TO THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN EQUALIZED IN MATERIAL TERMS, THUS BECOMING EVEN MORE INEQUITABLE THAN BEFORE.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, NO CONCRETE ASSURANCES HAVE YET BEEN GIVEN THAT NEW DEFENSE COOPERATION AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENTS TO BE REACHED BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE U.S. A. WILL MEET OUR REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS THAT EMANATED FROM OUR PREVIOUS HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS IN ANKARA AND WASHINGTON.

PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT, AFTER BEING AWAY FROM ANKARA FOR A WEEK HAS JUST RETURNED TO THE CAPITAL AND HAS MADE AN OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF MR. ELEKDAG'S TALKS IN WASHINGTON AND THE RESPONSES HE RECEIVED.

HE APPRECIATES THE EFFORTS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS STARTED MAKING IN ORDER TO IMPRESS UPON THE IMF, TURKEY'S PROBLEMS AND RIGHTFUL REQUIRMENTS AND TO FACILITATE AND EXPEDITE THE EXPECTED MOVES BY THE BANKS IN THE WAY OF RESCHEDULING TURKEY'S DEBTS AND OF PROVIDING FOR NEW CREDITS.

HE CANNOT HELP THINKING HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS NOT YET READY TO COMMIT HERSELF IN CLEAR AND CONCRETE TERMS ABOUT THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO AND COOPERATION WITH TURKEY. HE FINDS THE WORDING OF THE DRAFT STATEMENT IN THIS RESPECT RATHER TOO VAGUE. AS IT STANDS IT WOULD CERTAINLY CAUSE DISILLUSIONMENT IN THE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION AND BE EXPLOITED BY THE OPPOSITION. THE OPPOSITION'S REACTION IS NEGATIVE EVEN BEFORE THE PUBLIC STATEMENT IS ISSUED. SUCH REACTIONS WOULD RENDER IT DIFFICULT TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE IN TURKEY VIS-A-VIS THE REVITALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

ALL THESE CONCERNS AND CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS LOOKING FOR EXCUSES TO BACK DOWN FROM OUR PLEDGE.
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PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR AND REASSURING ON THAT ACCOUNT IN HIS RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS - STATEMENTS IN WHICH HE HAS DWELT ONLY UPON TURKEY'S PLEDGE AND INTENTIONS AND DID NOT EVEN MENTION HIS EXPECTATIONS

ABOUT THE FULFILLMENT OF THE U.S. COMMITMENTS. HE DID NOT EVEN INDICATE ANY LINKAGE ALTHOUGH ANY COOPERATION BETWEEN TWO PARTIES IS NORMALLY BASED ON THE LINKAGE AND BALANCE OF MUTUAL COMMITMENTS AND EFFORTS.

BUT IF A JOINT COMMUNIQUE OR STATEMENT IS TO BE ISSUED

IT SHOULD BE A BALANCED ONE - BALANCED IN A CLEARER AND MORE CONCRETE WAY.

IN CASE THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS NOT YET IN A POSITION TO STATE HER COMMITMENTS IN SUCH CLEAR AND CONCRETE TERMS, IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO BE SATISFIED BY THE TURKISH PREMIER'S PUBLIC REAFFIRMATIONS OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S PLEDGE AS AN INDICATION OF TURKEY'S RELIABILITY IN THE EYES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE AND OF THE CONGRESS.

END TEXT.

4. AFTER A QUICK READING OF THE PAPER THE DEPUTY SECRETARY TOLD ELEKDAG THAT HE WISHED TO STUDY THE PAPER AND RESPOND LATER. HE WOULD NOT, HE SAID, WANT TO SAY ANYTHING IN HASTE THAT HE MIGHT LATER REGRET. HE RECOGNIZED THAT IT WAS A COMPLEX DOCUMENT DEALING WITH COMPLEX QUESTIONS. NEVERTHELESS HE SAID HE FELT HE SHOULD SAY THAT IN HIS VIEW THE US GOVERNMENT WAS DOING EVERYTHING IT COULD TO HELP TURKEY.

5. ELEKDAG, WHO SEEMED SOMEWHAT EMBARRASSED BY THE CONTENTIOUS TONE OF THE PAPER, MADE BRIEF EFFORT TO EXPLAIN CONFIDENTIAL

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AND REINFORCE SOME OF ITS POINTS. THE IDEA OF THE NEED FOR EXPANDED AID WAS NOT NEW, HE SAID; IT HAD FIRST BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE MEETING BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND SECRETARY VANCE, AND IT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN SUBSEQUENT HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS. ELEKDAG, REFERRING TO AN EARLIER TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH NIMETZ, SAID THE GOT WAS NOT ATTEMPTING TO CREATE A LINKAGE BETWEEN THE OPENING OF THE DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS AND ASSISTANCE LEVELS. THE US SHOULD REALIZE, HOWEVER, THAT TURKEY FACES A SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH COULD EFFECT ITS ABILITY TO MEET ITS DEFENSE COMMITMENTS.

6. ELEKDAG THEN SAID THAT IN ADDITION TO THE PAPER HE HAD JUST PRESENTED HE WAS ALSO UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO PRESENT A REVISED DRAFT JOINT STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT OF TURKISH STATEMENT. BEGIN TEXT:

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF TURKEY,

SUKRU ELEKDAG, VISITED WASHINGTON AUGUST 7-14 FOR MEETINGS WITH OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, DEFENSE AND TREASURY. THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE PART OF THE CONTINUING EFFORT BY THE U.S. AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS TO REVITALIZE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, A PROCESS THAT HAS

BEEN ACCELERATED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE VOTES TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO. THE DISCUSSIONS TOUCHED ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING ECONOMIC AND SECURITY MATTERS. IN DISCUSSING THE FUTURE OF DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY, MR. ELEKDAG REAFFIRMED THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION THAT THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WILL LEAD TO THE REOPENING OF THE INSTALLATIONS. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS OF AN AGREE-CONFIDENTIAL

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MENT ON THE REACTIVATION OF DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY WILL BEGIN IN ANKARA SOON AFTER THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, IN SEPTEMBER.

WITH A VIEW TO DEVELOPING A BROADER AND RICHER BASIS FOR US-TURKISH RELATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS ON U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE, ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE, AND CO-PRODUCTION OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT WILL ALSO BE CONDUCTED.

THE TURKISH SIDE HAS EXPLAINED THAT A STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE CAN ONLY REST ON A SOUND ECONOMIC BASIS AND THUS INDICATED THAT PARTICULARLY FOR A DEVELOPING COUNTRY LIKE TURKEY DEFENSE MATTERS COULD NOT BE DISSOCIATED FROM ECONOMIC MATTERS.

IN THIS CONTEXT, THE UNITED STATES SIDE HAS EXPRESSED ITS WILLINGNESS TO SPEEDILY CONTRIBUTE TO THE TURKISH ECONOMY.

OTHER SUBJECTS DISCUSSED DURING MR. ELEKDAG'S VISIT WERE PLANS FOR NEGOTIATING A PRISONER TRANSFER TREATY AND OTHER BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. END TEXT.

7. DEPUTY SECRETARY AGAIN REPEATED THAT HE WANTED TO STUDY THE PAPER BEFORE RESPONDING. HE AGAIN SAID, HOWEVER, THAT IN HIS VIEW THE US HAD KEPT ITS PART OF THE BARGAIN WITH TURKEY. HE SAID HE DID NOT THINK IT WOULD HELP TO REVITALIZE THE RELATIONSHIP IF THE UNITED STATES WERE CHARGED WITH NOT LIVING UP TO ITS PROMISES.

8. ELEKDAG REQUESTED THAT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOT REGARD THE TURKISH DOCUMENT IN THAT LIGHT. HE APPEALED FOR UNDERSTANDING THAT TURKEY IS NOW PASSING THROUGH A SEVERE CRISIS. THE IMF HAS TAKEN AN UNYIELDING POSITION. THE RESULT IS THAT THE STABILIZATION PROGRAM IS IN DANGER AND THIS IN TURN ENDANGERS THE TURKISH ECONOMY. THE SITUATION IS SO GRAVE, ELEKDAG SAID TURKEY HAS NO OTHER PLACE TO

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TURN EXCEPT TO THE US.

9. DEPUTY SECRETARY THANKED ELEKDAG FOR HIS PRESENTATION
AND SAID THAT THE US WOULD CONSIDER IT IN THAT LIGHT AND

BE BACK IN TOUCH. THE US WILL HE SAID, CONTINUE TO TAKE
A CONSTRUCTIVE AND COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD TURKEY,
HOWEVER, HE OBSERVED THAT THE US GOVERNMENT IS MUCH MORE
LIKELY TO BE HELPFUL AND FORTHCOMING IF IT IS APPROACHED
WITH A REQUEST TO WORK TOGETHER THAN IF IT IS ACCUSED OF
NOT HAVING MET ITS COMMITMENTS. VANCE

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